2537

Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

Vol. XIV. No. 17. NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY, 1904. Whole No. 379.

"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

The December number of the "Pacific Monthly" contains a long and strong article by C. E. S. Wood, of Portland, Oregon, on "The Suppression of Vice by Law." Favoring the abolition of laws against vice, it is thoroughly Anarchistic in its tendency. I note with pleasure that this magazine will introduce with its January number a "new department of personal opinion" to be conducted by Mr. Wood under the title of "Impressions." It is sure to be bold, vigorous, and interesting.

Mr. Byington's good humor over the difficulty with Colombia would be more intelligible to me, if the individual president of Panama stood in a more libertarian relation to the new government that is over him than that which he held to the old government that has been lifted from him. President Roosevelt's denial of Colombian sovereignty for the purpose of affirming Panamese sovereignty seems to me unlikely to arouse Anarchistic enthusiasm, especially as every man of sense knows that Roosevelt never would have dared to deny Colombian sovereignty, had Colombia been as strong as France or England.

It is gratifying to note that some of the more important of the Spencer obituaries recognize the unmistakably Anarchistic trend of the philosopher's political teaching. The Springfield "Republican," from whose article a paragraph is reprinted in another column, even goes so far as to declare Spencer an Anarchist. There is some justification for this, for Spencer's doctrine of equal liberty is Anarchism pure and simple, and his magnificent championship of liberty in so many directions has been and will remain one of the chief influences in the promotion of Anarchism. Nevertheless, so important are the matters in which he denied his fundamental political principle in his efforts to apply it that he cannot be adjudged an Anarchist. His theory of communal rights over the land antagonizes the Anarchistic doctrine that occupancy and use alone constitute a just land title; his advocacy of property in ideas is at war with the Anarchistic doctrine of free access to the world of mind; and, above all, his justification of compulsory coöperation for defence almost ruins his otherwise Anarchistic indictment of majority rule over non-invasive minorities. Anarchists recognize in Herbert Spencer a kindred spirit, and offer to his memory their tribute of admiration and gratitude, but they cannot accept him as a trustworthy exponent of their political philosophy.

The only blot on the stirring Turner meeting at Cooper Union was the speech of that sickening windbag, the Rev. Henry Frank. In extending an invitation to him the committee of arrangements was guilty of an egregious blunder, against which I made my individual protest in advance. This mouthing and bombastic ranter deluged the audience with a stream of rodomontade which was finally stopped only by methods that would have been insulting if applied to a less offensive individual. Frank was the only speaker who took pains to explicitly disavow belief in Anarchism, and, when he did so, every Anarchist in the hall heaved a deep sigh of relief.

Liberty desires to call the attention of its friends to the distressing situation of Georgia and Henry Replogle, the former publishers of "Egoism," than whom there have been no more faithful workers for the cause of Anarchism. For many months Georgia Replogle has been seriously and sufferingly ill, and her illness has necessitated heavy expenditures, which the arduous toil of Henry Replogle, himself in poor health, has been insufficient to meet. Their present condition is painful and perilous in the extreme. They have not authorized this journal to appeal on their behalf, but it takes the responsibility of doing so. The gratitude that all Anarchists must feel toward these clear-sighted and untiring champions of liberty should find immediate expression in the form of money contributions, which may be sent to Georgia Replogle, Box 1307, Denver, Colorado. And sympathetic letters from earnest friends, whether accompanied by money or not, would surely carry cheer and comfort to a home now buried in the darkness of depression.

Once or twice already has reference been made in these columns to a forthcoming book by Paul Ghio, in the French language, on "L'Anarchisme aux Etats-Unis" (Anarchism in the United States). The work is now before the public, issued by the Paris publishing house of Armand Colin. It is a volume of nearly two hundred pages, dealing in one chapter with the causes of revolutionary action in the United States, in another with the "intellectual Anarchists" (represented by Liberty), and in a third with the "insurrectional Anarchists" (represented by "La Questione Sociale"). Unlike most of the writers who have tried to picture the Anarchist movement, M. Ghio endeavors to be fair, and his exposition of what he calls "intellectual Anarchism" is not only just and accurate in the main, but sympathetic and friendly. One feels that the writer is something very close to an Anarchist himself. Nevertheless this exposition, substantially just in so far as it sets forth doctrine, is often strung on a thread of narrative which is almost purely fanciful. For instance, an elaborate description is given of a trip through the Jewish quarter and other parts of New York, in which I am pictured as M. Ghio's guide, making Anarchistic comments on the various things seen by us. As a matter of fact, no such trip was ever made by me. When M. Ghio was in New York, I had the pleasure of several extended interviews with him, as a result of which I hold his personality in high and friendly esteem. But I cannot justify him in weaving out of these a web of romance which would put to shame the average writer of historical novels. Such methods smack too strongly of yellow journalism to be passed without condemnation.

Gutenberg the Arch Conspirator.

[Henry Maret.]

Everybody knowing how to read nowadays, those who write are responsible, naturally, for all crimes committed, since it is possible that the criminals have read their writings. By the same reasoning, whenever a poisoning occurs, it is just to condemn all druggists in a lump, since, whether they sold the poison or not, they might have sold it. Everybody is aware that the reading of the newspapers is the cause of all the assaults upon property and person. History tells us that, before the abominable invention of Gutenberg, humanity had lived steadily in the golden age, and no man had ever dreamed of slaying his brother.

Are You You?

[Saturday Evening Post.]

Are you a trailer, or are you a trolley?
Are you tagged to a leader through wisdom and folly?
Are you Somebody Else, or You?
Do you vote by the symbol and swallow it "straight"?
Do you pray by the book, do you pay by the rate?
Do you tie your cravat by the calendar's date?
Do you follow a cue?

Are you a writer, or that which is worded?
Are you a shepherd, or one of the herded?
Which are you — a What or a Who?
It sounds well to call yourself "one of the flock,"
But a sheep is a sheep after all. At the block
You're nothing but mutton, or possibly stock.
Would you flavor a stew?

Are you a being and boss of your soul,
Or are you a mummy to carry a scroll?
Are you Somebody Else, or You?
When you finally pass to the heavenly wicket,
Where Peter the Scrutinous stands at his picket,
Are you going to give him a blank for a ticket?
Do you think it will do?

Liberty.

Published Monthly; One Year, 60 Cents; Two Years, $1.00; Single Copies, 5 Cents.

BENJ. R. TUCKER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

Office of Publication, 114 Fifth Avenue, Room 43.
Post Office Address: LIBERTY, P. O. Box 1312, New York.

NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY, 1904.

Entered December 3, 1902, at New York, N. Y., as second-class matter, under act of congress of March 3, 1879.

"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

The Degenerate Republic.

Some persons still keep up appearances and profess to believe that the amount of freedom once possessed and cherished by the United States has not been lost or surrendered through ignorance, greed, commercialism, and recklessness. It is time such ridiculous and nauseating pretensions were abandoned. American liberty is dead. A vulgar, doubly offensive despotism has been permitted to rear and establish itself.

We are behind England, behind Switzerland, behind France, behind Germany even, in several important directions. None of those countries would endure such outrages as the degenerate American classes and masses have acquiesced in, even applauded. The constitution annulled; plutocracy is on the throne, and cheap mountebank moralists carry out its orders while adding hypocrisy to tyranny and crime. The absurd and irresponsible Roosevelt is not merely an individual; he is a type.

When, after dismembering Colombia, he dared profess sentiments of amity and regard for her, he unwittingly characterized a spirit, a period, a generation. Machiavellianism is a thousand times more respectable than Hay-Rooseveltism. The most sickening feature of the Panama scandal is the cant, the assumption of virtue, by which it was justified. The highwayman's plea may provoke your indignation; the Rooseveltian appeal to the "duties" and "burdens" imposed on him by the treaty with Colombia that had run with the land makes you ashamed of the species to which you belong. How can such liars look one another in the face? you ask. Has decency departed to the beasts?

But this is a digression. The Panama grab and the idiotic (read Rooseveltian) defence of it require no discussion in these columns. I mean to speak of the monstrous anti-Anarchist provision of the new immigration law, which a federal court has upheld as not inconsistent with the constitution!

The constitution! What is left of it? Have not ingenious hirelings of the brotherhood of thieves "construed" it out of real and substantial existence? Slavery, oppression, massacre, torture, despotism, every crime and infamy is possible under the charter which was once thought so wonderful and so advanced and libertarian. It does not protect the Filipino victims of plutocratic aggression. It does not apply to Porto Rico, Alaska, and other "possessions" of the so-called republic, and it has been intimated that it may not extend even to the organized territories.

Is it of much protective value at home? The greenback decision, the lottery cases, and a number of less notorious supreme court usurpations suggest the answer. A constitution is worthless, worse than worthless, where the love of liberty is dead and the conception of liberty so ridiculously unintelligent as it is even among the teachers, judges, and editors of the United States.

That the anti-Anarchist section of the immigration act should be held to be constitutional is, therefore, the most natural thing in the world. This section enables the government to do what no European country, Russia alone excepted, would think of doing; but what of that? The fiction that the United States is freer and more progressive than Europe might as well be discarded.

One of the provisions of this section provides for the exclusion and deportation of persons who *disbelieve* in all organized government, even if they do not expound their disbelief here. This has been indignantly denounced at a mass meeting and in several liberal papers. But is it more outrageous and impudent than the denial of the freedom to *advocate* the abolition of the State by peaceful means, the substitution of voluntary coöperation, in a gradual and deliberate way, for the compulsory coöperation of governmentalism, with its inevitable corruption, fraud, waste, and folly? Verily, most of the critics of the law (and how few there are!) understand the principle of liberty as little as do the knaves and ignoramuses who defend it.

The comments on Judge Lacombe's decision sustaining the law were unconscious exhibitions of ignorance and superficiality. What did "his honor" say? That the constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of belief, speech, and publication were not intended to benefit aliens. Any one already in this blessed country enjoys these rights; but he who seeks to join us has no rights that we are bound to respect. Was the absurdity of this position pointed out? Here and there the remark was freely made that the law, if not unconstitutional, ought to be amended, so that men like Tolstoï and Reclus and Kropotkine (and Jesus, it should be added) might be admitted.

Let us see what this logic would lead us to. If congress may order the deportation of an immigrant within two years (or two months) of his arrival for professing or expressing Anarchistic ideas, it may order his deportation within twenty years for the same offence. Unless he gets himself naturalized, he is without redress or protection. If he may be deported for preaching Anarchism, he may be deported for any and every reason, or unreason, the absolute congressional despotism sees fit to specify. He may be deported for criticising the president, for telling the truth about humbugs like Roosevelt, for opposing protection, for reminding us of the Declaration of Independence, even for advocating democracy! What the citizen can claim as a right congress may make a crime and ground for deportation in an alien irrespective of the length of his sojourn in the country. If the constitution does not apply to him, he is as helpless as the subject of the czar. He need not be granted even a hearing. An "administrative order" will do in his case.

But what does the constitution say? This: "Congress *shall make no law* . . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." It does not say that congress shall not deprive citizens or persons already in the United States of freedom of thought and utterance. The words are, "shall make no law." Is not the provision for the deportation of aliens exercising, or known to have exercised abroad, the right of free speech "a law"?

Judge Lacombe's distinction is baseless. That it has not been universally repudiated is the result of general indifference and contempt for liberty, constitutionalism, and original Americanism. Who cares about rights, liberty, justice, in these days? Blood, spoils, full dinner-pails, and low amusements are the needs of the degenerate republicans fitly represented by half-witted buccaneers and vulgar boodlers.

S. R.

The lengths and depths to which the apologists of capitalism will go in their efforts to bolster the existing order by which they live are strikingly shown in a pamphlet entitled "Anarchy in Cleveland," which the Republicans of Ohio issued and circulated in the last political campaign for the purpose of defeating Tom L. Johnson. The pamphlet bears a red cover decorated with skull and cross-bones, and purports to be a series of excerpts from the minutes of the Franklin Club (afterwards the Liberty Association) of Cleveland, Ohio, which met for many years on Sunday afternoons for the discussion of economic subjects. It is declared in the pamphlet that these minutes were confiscated by the authorities during a search that followed the shooting of McKinley. As a matter of fact, however, no such confiscation occurred, and the minutes, instead of being in the possession of the Ohio authorities, are in the possession, according to the editor of the "Ohio State Journal," of the Ohio Republican State Central Committee. How they got there is a mystery. Some think that they were stolen by the janitor of the hall in which the Liberty Association met; others that they were delivered through the treachery of a former secretary. In making the excerpts from the minutes the Republican committee carefully selected every paragraph making any mention of Anarchism, in order to identify the Association with Anarchism in the pub-

lic mind, and also every paragraph making any mention of a Democrat or Populist or Single Taxer as participating in the Association's debates, while as carefully excluding or ignoring every similar paragraph making like mention of a Republican, although many Republicans had lectured before the Association and taken part in its discussions. Furthermore, for nearly every name mentioned in the text of the pamphlet the committee provided a foot-note to more specifically connect that name with Tom L. Johnson. I give some instances. Text: "At the meeting held February 24, 1895, Harry H. Kline was elected chairman." Foot-note: "Mr. Kline is employed in the Engineer's Department of the City of Cleveland." Text: "On September 5, 1897, Mr. Moore said that the present government exercised tyranny, and every one should do his best to abolish it." Foot-note: "Mr. Moore is at present employed doing political work for Mayor Johnson." Text: "March 27, 1898, Mr. Phiston announced that Louis F. Post was about to publish a paper in Chicago called the 'Public'." Foot-note: "Mr. Post is the reputed author of the State Democratic platform for 1903." Now, by the same method these minutes could have been used with equal effect in spreading Anarchistic tar on the numerous Republicans who have addressed the Association, and this discrimination between Republicans and Democrats is what stamps the pamphlet as a dishonest, disreputable, and dastardly piece of political trickery. However, it is all excellent advertising for Anarchism. "Let the galled jade wince; our withers are unwrung."

Alexander Horr declares his intention to publish a monthly journal of economics and politics under the title of "Freeland," the first number appearing next April. Mr. Horr is an enthusiastic disciple of Hertzka, while accepting at the same time the politics of Anarchism. He has an exceptionally keen and active mind, and is equipped intellectually for the production of an interesting journal. If he takes a friend's advice, however, he will not trust himself to edit personally a paper written in the English language. Some years ago, when he contemplated such a paper, he had the coöperation of Mr. Byington, which insured satisfactory editing. Now he announces no substitute for Mr. Byington, and I fear for the results. The prospectus of "Freeland" announces that "its politics will be libertarian." We are not to infer, I hope, that its economics will be authoritarian. The subscription price of "Freeland" will be fifty cents a year, and communications may be addressed to Mr. Horr at 816 Broadway, New York City.

The "Truth Seeker," for devoting so much of its abundant space to the Turner case, deserves the thanks of all friends of liberty. It is right when it says: "The readers of no other paper in the country will be so enlightened. The few papers advocating mental liberty are too small to print all this matter, the many papers large enough to print it are too bigoted."

What matters the idol? The main thing is to kneel. The priest and the altar change, human obeisance never.—*Henry Maret.*

The Bright Side of Rough Riding.

It is one of the advantages of not being in politics that one may belong to a party without being obliged to agree with the other members of that party through thick and thin. Now I have supposed myself to be an anti-imperialist. But here are the anti-imperialists walking through the columns of the papers with very long faces indeed over this Panama affair, while I find myself able to smile as much as the approach of Christmas demands. I don't like to be gloomy, and I am glad I can part company with them.

Not that I do not object to the expansion of the empire. I wish it understood that I am a "little American." I would rather live in a small State well governed than in a large State ill governed, and I do not know who has the recipe for governing a large State as well as can be done with a small one. I greatly regret that to the other business of our government there is to be added a canal (under the governmental wing, if not built by the government itself) and the administration of another province, to further distract the minds of reformers and attract the minds of corruptionists. I can see no reason why the Panama service should not be as reliable a source of scandals as the postal service and the Indian service, and I fully expect that its need of watching will draw off part of the already scanty vigilance which looks after these others. Yet I smile.

President Roosevelt's cardinal offence in this matter has been his disregard of international law. International law is indeed as good a body of law as any that we have over us. It is devoted mainly, and on the whole efficiently, to preventing international war; this surely gives it a fair claim to our respect. But there is a fly in the ointment. International law is all arranged so as to help keep things as they are; and things must not stay as they are; therefore we have to recognize international law as the enemy of mankind on occasion. It seems to me that President Roosevelt has rightly seen and seized one of the occasions where this is true, and has struck a blow against the law right where the law needed to be struck. The great power of his office makes the blow effective; so I smile.

They are saying that it was a case of robbery; and some Anarchists are echoing the cry. Who was robbed, pray? I should be very sorry to see the Panamese robbed of their goods. But, so far as I see, the Panamese have their goods right where they want them, and their land is getting used for precisely what they most want it to be used for,—to wit, to cut a canal. If they are in any point dissatisfied with the action of the United States, I have overlooked the report of their dissatisfaction. The only people who profess to have a ground of complaint are the Colombians, who don't live on the isthmus and are not being interfered with in their least whims as to anything that they have any business with; they are complaining because they are robbed of the privilege of oppressing the Panamese by stopping an important part of commerce on the isthmus. Their right to this privilege is based not on its making any difference to them whether a canal is cut or not, but simply on their having enjoyed the oppressive privilege for a long time. The world is sick and sore and lame and faint with having such rights acknowledged on such grounds; and for once President Roosevelt has found it out. Therefore I smile.

This is the radical fault of international law,—that it is based on the recognition of rights of sovereignty. Over in Europe there are a lot of men with a monstrous stock of cannon and bayonets and such goods, all presumably kept for the protection of the weak against the unrighteous strong; and they let the sultan go right on massacring people as often as he feels like it, not because they love him, nor because he owes money to their friends (for they have found out much more effective ways of collecting bonds than by leaving the sultan in charge; see, for instance, what they are doing just now at Panama about the Colombian bonds), nor because they cannot agree with each other (though this has something to do with it), but for the sake of preserving the principle that a sovereign must be permitted to retain his sovereignty. If this principle were not to be respected, they do not know what would become of them and their cannon. Nor do I; but then, I don't care what becomes of them, and they do. So, having international law pretty much in their own hands, they have settled this principle more firmly in international law than it is settled in any other part of human life at present. But Roosevelt has outfaced this with his bold and strong-handed assertion of the contrary principle that, when a government makes a nuisance of itself, it has no rights that need be held sacred. I want to see this principle received everywhere; and I smile.

Nor should it be forgotten that, while the United States acquires certain sovereign rights on the isthmus, which will doubtless be enough of a nuisance to rouse fervent wishes for their suppression, the revolution is distinctly a step toward greater local independence for the isthmus as a whole. The ten-mile strip gets an alien master, in exchange for a master almost equally alien; but the rest of Panama will be, as I suppose, rather more independent than Cuba. The empire of the United States is extended, but the amount of empire in the world is lessened. Why should I not smile?

And there is a detail which interests me greatly. The prompt intervention of North American forces is a result of the traditional treaty right of the United States to keep order on the isthmus. It is true the legal application of this treaty to the present circumstances is so shaky that the administration party is not likely to lay much stress on this in defending its action. Nevertheless it can hardly be supposed, even with the analogous case of Hawaii in mind, that such an immediate occupation of the isthmus would have been thought decent if there had not been this old and approved habit of landing troops at Colon in time of revolution. The American forces in Hawaii did not undertake to protect the revolutionary government against a possible counter-revolution. Historians will certainly trace the present intervention in Panama to that old treaty as its source. But the right of the United States in the premises was strictly limited to *keeping order*. In proposing to keep the Colombian troops off the isthmus, therefore, the United States and President Roosevelt have committed themselves to this luminous, but neglected, truth,—that, when a territory rebels against the power which controls it, and that power sends an army to suppress the insurrection, this action on the part of the governing power is a public disorder such as it is the business of the police to suppress! I only wish they would live up to that; but how can I help smiling?

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

A Great Speech by Clemenceau.

The question of liberty of education has occupied the French senate considerably of late, the members of the Extreme Left, as a rule, taking the Socialistic position of State monopoly of education. M. Georges Clemenceau, however, took issue with his fellow radicals, and on November 17 made a powerful and eloquent plea for liberty. Clemenceau is no Anarchist; he does not follow the logic of liberty to its conclusion; but his argument before the senate is so Anarchistic in its tendency, and so little has been said about it in the American press, that large space in this issue of Liberty may be devoted to it with profit. About three-fourths of the speech is given below, translated from the report in Clemenceau's paper, "L'Aurore":

Gentlemen, a vote for liberty is about to be dropped into the urn containing the votes of men who demand liberty only for themselves. I reject the omnipotence of the laic State because I see there a tyranny; others reject it because it is not their tyranny. . . . .

You wish, my dear friends [addressing the Left], to take away political power from the enemies of the republic; that is something; but it is not enough, for political power is ephemeral and passes away; I wish also to take away their power over souls. And I can do it only through liberty, because the soul

does not surrender to constraint. If constraint had been able to prevail, the church would be mistress of the world. I profit by the lesson. . . . .

In education, as in every other part of the political structure, everything follows from two fundamental principles,—authority and liberty. Under monarchy and under the republic the same words are employed, but they stand for two absolutely different and absolutely opposite conceptions. Under monarchy authority comes from above; it is a delegation of divine power; as for liberty under monarchy, I should be much embarrassed to define it; it does not exist; let us say that from time to time the sovereign may take a notion to be tolerant. Under the republic liberty is the common right of each, and authority can be only the guarantee of the liberty of each. Only, a circumstance arises to modify somewhat the position of each.

The republicans have overturned the monarchy in the name of liberty. Then, in possession of authority, they have felt some difficulty in divesting themselves of a power which failed to save the monarchy. And, on the other hand, monarchists who had never granted liberty could not, when in the opposition, do otherwise than demand it. Hence an interchange of *rôles;* and it is precisely this which has led me to explain to my colleagues how it is that presently my vote is going to be mingled for a brief moment with the votes of the Right.

In spite of the great temptation to not divest ourselves, or to divest ourselves as little as possible, of this authority which our party possessed, we nevertheless have granted liberties which this country had never known before. We have given liberty of the press such as no *régime* has known; we have given liberty of assemblage such as no former government of France could have lived under. And we are engaged in establishing, in spite of you [designating the Right], liberty of conscience, by liberating this country from the yoke of the Catholic church.

When we gave these liberties, what happened? We mingled our votes with those of the Right, and we did it in the name of the liberty which it would have denied us if the *rôles* had been interchanged. Under all circumstances my vote has responded to the appeal of those of our colleagues who ask for liberty. Today my vote, even if I am followed by none of my friends, will mingle again with the votes of the Right for the same great cause of republican liberty. Not that I pretend to do a favor to anybody, but I pretend that the republic must give the same right to all without distinction of idea or party. There is no grace, no favor, no privilege in the republic; there is right; and we must concede the same right to all. . . .

If there is a distinction to be made between the spiritual power and the temporal power, it is certain that the former should prevail over the latter. But I do not accept the question in this form, and here I regret to find myself a very resolute and determined antagonist of my honorable colleague and friend, M. Lintilhac, who asks us to transfer the spiritual power from the pope to the State, from the infallible, unchangeable pope to the fallible and changing State. This means a civil, laic Catholicism, with a university clergy.

M. Lintilhac.—I said: "profiting by social experience."

M. Clemenceau.—You have offered us a phrase which must be read again from the tribune as the basis of your opinion,—the following phrase of Aristotle: "Education should be one and the same for all. We must beware of the belief that a citizen belongs to himself; all belong to the State." Gentlemen, you know that this quotation was presented to us in the form of a rebus, and we were asked to guess the author. At the moment when M. Lintilhac declared it to be from Aristotle, I was about to say: "Ignatius de Loyola." For here we find again the *Perinde ac cadaver.* It is the doctrine of the total absorption, complete and without reserve, of the individual in the corporation. You are taking for yourselves the Congregation's ideal. There is a legendary personage who, to escape the rain, leaped into the river. To escape the Congregation we would make France itself one immense Congregation. That is the rallying-cry of the next republic.

Gentlemen, you have noticed this phrase: "All men belong to the State." They began by saying to us: "Children are the property of the State." The slope is dangerous. There are three grades of education. The first liberals to favor monopoly asked it only for primary education; later, when it became a question where began the liberty of man and where ended the annihilation of childhood, the men of logic asked that secondary education also be conceded to them. Finally, M. Lintilhac, logical to the end, demands monopoly for the higher education. That is to say, you will send to the army, against the enemy, men of twenty years, who, when they shall have ended their service, will come back to finish their education. And at that hour, after they have risked death for their country, M. Lintilhac will not yet grant them the liberty to know.

Well, gentlemen, I cannot share this doctrine whereby that abstraction, the State, becomes the insatiable Moloch in which every virtue—they have told us so expressly—is to be swallowed up forever. It is a backward leap of two thousand years.

We have accomplished the French Revolution. Our fathers thought they were freeing themselves; not at all; they were changing their master. It is the universal tendency of those who find it easier to destroy the idol than to suppress the spirit of superstition within themselves. When Brutus killed Cæsar, a voice came from the crowd: "Brutus must be made Cæsar!" Yes, we have guillotined the king; long live the State-king! We have dethroned the pope; long live the State-pope! We are expelling God, as these gentlemen of the Right say; long live the State-God! Gentlemen, I am not of this monarchy, I am not of this pontificate.

The State has a long history,— a history of murder and blood. All the crimes that have been committed in the world,—the massacres, the wars, the perjuries, the tortures, the burnings at the stake,—all have been justified by the interest of the State, by reasons of State. Being a republican in principle, I will not say that there have been good kings,— that would give too much pleasure to these gentlemen of the Right,— but I will say that there have been good-hearted kings. There have been religious popes. It may be that there have been some who tried to be tolerant. The State, by its nature, is implacable; it has no soul, it has no bowels, it is deaf to the cry of pity, it is not to be moved. Because I am the enemy of the king, of the emperor, and of the pope, I am the enemy of the omnipotent State, sovereign master of humanity.

In truth, do you suppose that I have abandoned monarchy, that I have renounced that old-fashioned Providence which holds the keys of hell and heaven, to adore the monster State, all dripping with human blood, which is responsible for all the abominations from which humanity has groaned and is groaning yet? No, I cannot do it.

Yesterday we were told that the State was superior to justice. I am not a subject of that State. And, if you look at the Christians, the Catholics, what a lesson for you! Have you ever asked yourselves why and how the Christians, who were a liberty in the arena, came to translate the precept, "Love one another," into tortures, massacres, and burnings? The question is interesting, gentlemen, because it is full of instruction for you at this hour. Well, I will tell you. It was because they were victims of the same illusion as yourselves; they wanted to be the State. They were an admirable thing, one of the finest outbursts ever seen in the world, until the day when they thought to find in the State a power for their propaganda. On that day Christianity foundered; since then it has been nothing but a corporation of domination by fire and sword; it has been the worst tyranny ever known in the world; and today the Catholics, though still murmuring the words that come to them from tradition, aspire to nothing less than the regaining of political power in order to refuse the liberties that they ask of us today,—that is, to continue against us the oppression of former times. M. Lintilhac has not seen that.

M. Lintilhac.—I must not be made to say what I have not said. Why overwhelm the ideal democratic State of tomorrow with the crimes of the State of yesterday, of which I have as great a horror as you? It is a solidarity which I reject and which I have never set up.

M. Clemenceau.—One can always reject all solidarity with the past, but I assure you, my dear colleague, that it does not at all depend on you, on me, or on any one here, to say what the State of tomorrow will be.

M. Lintilhac.—It will be our virtue to make it good.

M. Clemenceau.—But that will not always depend on you. You will not have the power, and what do intentions amount to? This is not a dialogue; I beg you to let me continue. You know my sentiments toward you personally, but I cannot admit your thesis, and I think I have a right to contradict it; you have not yet the monopoly of teaching.

M. Lintilhac.—Nevertheless I cannot allow opinions that I have not uttered to be attributed to me.

M. Clemenceau.—I have quoted no word of yours; I show where your thesis leads. In any case let me speak; when I have finished, you can answer me if you like. I have said that the charity of the gospel was translated into bloody violence, and I add that so it was in the first place with our beautiful revolutionary motto. Our work today is to realize it peacefully. Have a care lest, in seeking this realization in the omnipotence of the State, we lead only to the violence which the omnipotence of the State has always produced.

Gentlemen, in the province from which I come they have an old song of a peasant who comes back from Paris and gives his impressions. He was unable to see the city; the houses prevented him. My honorable colleague, M. Lintilhac, has had the opposite experience. The State has prevented him from seeing the citizens, the forest has prevented him from seeing the trees; in fact, man was ignored by entire antiquity, which absorbed him in the State. It took the French Revolution to discover him and give him his rights. Through it the knowledge has been forced upon us that in the State there is but one living, concrete reality, with which you have to deal,— man, whom we wish free and just. The State which you invoke I invoke also, but as supreme guarantee of human development through justice and right.

I know, you dream of the ideal State. So did Plato, so did Aristotle, so did Thomas More, so do other dreamers. You dream of the ideal State. In books you make this State as beautiful as you please; but we are weak, changing men, confronted with realities. Do you think I have never changed in my life? It would be the greatest evil I could say of myself.

And you seek a dogma. The church has its dogma; it knows very well why it must have monopoly of education. It has its own dogma, it is written, it comes to it from heaven; it desires to spread it among us, to impose it upon the recalcitrant. But we? Where is our dogma? What can I impose as absolute truth on any one whomsoever? I am very strong, if I can convince, but I am deplorably weak if I wish to impose, not having the thunderbolts of Providence at my disposition. Where is your dogma? You cannot answer me, because you have none, because you cannot have any.

In your scheme of education the professor will have to say something from his chair. He will have to take some course. He will have to say whether he approves or blames. When he comes to the story of Tiberius, and when he has to relate a certain drama of Judea, what opinion will he have? Will Jesus Christ be God, or only a man? And when he reaches that great phenomenon of Christianity which encumbers history, and which has been and is today in the foreground of the thoughts and acts of civilization, how will he qualify it? What opinion of it will he give to his pupils?

Monopoly leads straight to the necessity of having a dogma, and this dogma I defy you to formulate. You will not formulate it; it is impossible. Not to confine myself to an assertion, I take one or two great historical phenomena, and I show you how impossible it is for you to adopt any special course in this education which you ask to monopolize.

What will you say of Catholicism, I ask you? How will you judge it? What formula will one be required to recognize in order to be a good pupil and not be blackballed in one of the colleges of which you will have the monopoly? And when you come to the Reformation, when Luther shall arise, how will you

judge, after all the heresiarchs that have died at the stake, the heresiarch reformer who continues their work and carries it to victory?

You cannot maintain silence. You will have to have a doctrine; you will have to say whether they were right or wrong,—whether the church did well in burning Jean Huss, or whether you blame it for doing so. What council of sub-masters will be charged with furnishing the infallible formula for the day? And by what means will you impose it?

Ah! before the French Revolution the course of the dominators was easy. They had the only power that there was in the world. But our fathers took this power and crushed it; they reduced it to dust, and scattered it in liberty over all humanity. And now you seek to gather up a few scattered fragments and make of them a minute block of authority, with which all the liberties that you have realized will clash in common. Madness! There is no greater error, no greater fault.

I know that you protest that this is not what you want to do. But what is monopoly, if not that? Your intentions are good; but I show you to what your acts would lead. Constraint is a terrible wheelwork. You cannot say yourselves where you will be able to stop. And into this adventure that has no issue you launch when you have not been able to apply even your very modest law of compulsion. You have made education compulsory, and you have not been able to enforce it. Every year it is noted that a large number of conscripts are enrolled in the service of the flag who do not know even how to read.

The other day I heard one of my good friends of the Left say: "We are not very revolutionary; we ask only a return to the law of 1808."

Oh, no! you are not very revolutionary! I even find you sufficiently reactionary! The law of 1808 is Napoleon's law; it is the law of the time when Napoleon uttered the words which M. Béraud has recalled so opportunely: "There is nothing that I cannot do with my policemen and my priests." For the word "priests" substitute the word "teachers," and you will have the idea that underlies monopoly in the heads of its partisans.

Gentlemen, if you could succeed, you would put into the hands of universal suffrage, into the hands of the changing majorities which succeed each other in the legislatures, the most formidable weapon of reaction ever seen in the world, for the responsibility would be intangible, scattered among the anonymous crowd.

Napoleon had a certain sequence in his ideas, say what you will. Himself everywhere; liberty nowhere. Where was the liberty of the press in those days? Where was the liberty of assemblage? Where was the liberty of conscience? The church had been bought by the Concordat, by the recognition of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine. It was against the republicans that the monopoly was constituted. And the wheel has turned, and here you are in possession of power. For thirty years you have been masters, and, under the *régime* of this bad law, your majorities have steadily increased, so that the other day a monarchist said to you: "We number thirty in this body." You have granted that liberty of the press of which Napoleon was afraid, and you are about to grant the liberty of conscience. And into this edifice of liberties that you are in the act of building, you would suddenly introduce authority in a form the most violent, the most ambitious, the most shocking for all consciences and all times! It is not possible. You can do it, for one can do anything; especially can one always make a mistake. The people too are fallible. We have not substituted the people for the pope, and we are all fallible. But, when we have shaped our course toward the liberation of men and minds, we have no right to suddenly recoil in fear from our work, and appeal like frightened children to a protective authority of which we should be the first victims. No; we have put our trust in liberty, and we must continue to trust it.

I appreciate the fact that my own words do not carry here the authority necessary to give pause to some of my best friends. But, in the discussion of this Falloux law itself, the fitting word was spoken by a man whom you all honor; let me recall it to you, for it is calculated to make you hesitate at least. Edgard Quinet, opposing the Falloux law, said: "Violence is not to be done to the principle on which a given society is based; when the legislation of a people is conceived in a certain spirit, not with impunity can a special law be placed in contradiction with the others; it would be tearing away the cornerstone of the society to manufacture from it a weapon of the moment." That is the best definition that can be given of this monopoly. It is a stone that you tear from the republican foundation to make from it a weapon of the moment regardless of the damage done to the edifice of liberty! The truth is that the church is a block of divine authority and human authority, and that the human mind, ever developing, has enlarged the fissure between the divine and the human. And you, whether you will or no,—even should you deny your principle unanimously this very night,—are a block of liberating powers which must some day determine justice by the development of the individual under the guarantee of the State. If not, you are nothing but rebellious slaves bent upon transforming tyranny instead of eliminating it.

Progress cannot reside in an abstraction. You will find it tangible only in the individual; man is the measure of accomplished progress. Progress lies in the increase of his free authority as fast as the discipline that he may impose upon himself permits him to employ his activity more equitably and usefully.

Outside of this you can do nothing but change masters, pass from the yoke of royal personality to the yoke of majority impersonality,—yoke of the pontificate, yoke of the king, yoke of the majority, always a yoke! If we would deliver ourselves, we must deliver all.....

Gentlemen, there is an objection which has never been answered and which nevertheless has its value. It grows out of that changing majority which you call the State. The State had a definite meaning in the time of Aristotle. It meant the king who does not change, who is continued in his dynasty, who remains a thing immutable. What is the State with the people, with the will of the people that changes with the impression of the moment?

The monopoly which you ask to establish exists in a State not very far away. You can take the Orient Express for Vienna, and in twenty-two hours you will have the pleasure of seeing it in operation.

This monopoly has a history that is not without interest. In 1848, under the influence of the great movement of general reaction, the emperor of Austria concluded with the pope a Concordat that gave the latter a monopoly of primary education. I do not need to describe this monopoly; you can imagine what it was. In 1870, when liberalism was asserting itself, Emperor Francis Joseph cancelled the Concordat and established a State monopoly. He did it on the basis on which you would do it yourselves. It was a matter of "giving to the young a religious and moral education." That is almost the formula of our university spiritualism; and, if you establish a monopoly today, it is the formula which you will be obliged to adopt.

The clericals fought this monopoly, as they are fighting it here today. They did not want a State monopoly; they wanted a papal monopoly. They fought it very energetically. But just then *State liberalism* was in the saddle, and the monopoly was voted.

Herbst, the liberal leader, said: "We have done but little with the inter-confessional laws. The progress realized lies in the fact that this little has been done without the aid of Rome."

The monopoly of the three degrees of education having been thus established, against the opposition of the clerical party then in the minority, what now is happening? The clericals have become the majority and are making use of the State monopoly against the liberals. They are driving out the liberal teachers. They are persecuting the entire liberal university. And finally Doctor Lueger, the leader of the clerical anti-Semites, is exclaiming: "Why, we arrange matters very well for ourselves under this law!" The non-confessional school has again become the confessional school, and thus the liberals have created a church monopoly.

Well, do you not see that here is a danger to be guarded against? You know very well that your majority is not eternal,—that it depends upon consultations of the popular will which will modify the classification of parties in proportions impossible to foresee. What will this monopoly be? No one can say, no one can know. What use will be made of it? M. Lintilhac said very truly to one of our colleagues: "If the republicans were in a minority, we should have something besides monopoly to cry about!" But I do not want to cry. I do not want to be conquered. I want to place myself in an impregnable position. And you will find no other than the right of the individual, because it is a tangible reality, because the problem of republics is to develop this reality, to make it ever stronger, ever more powerful, to make man ever freer, ever greater.....

And then there is an argument more serious than all the others. Your neutral school will necessarily be entangled in Biblical conceptions; it will be unable to prevent questions from framing themselves in the heads of the children: Who are we? What is the earth, the sky, those clouds, those stars? Where did it all come from? Where is it going? Whither is it taking us? There is an old book which has solved all these questions,—the Bible.

A Voice from the Left.—It is not very scientific.

M. Clemenceau.—I agree with you. It has not solved them in the same way that modern science has. What will you do? Either you will antagonize these conceptions, or you will not dare to answer any of the questions which besiege the young mind. ....

There are schools of private initiative which can offer children the conceptions of modern science in place of the old legendary conceptions; and these schools of reason you men of reason want to close! Can there be a greater aberration! You are afraid of Catholicism which is dying from the blows of reason, and you close the schools of reason! Have we not witnessed lately in France that interesting and stirring movement of the popular universities? And this, the first conquest of liberty, monopoly is going to dethrone. I believe there is a Socialist university in Belgium; you would close it, if tomorrow Belgium were to become a part of France. There are schools without God in Holland; these would be closed by your hands. That is to say, you would go squarely against the object that you have in view.....

I am for liberty. Ah! if the republic were conquered, with what applause you would greet my words, my dear friends; but we are conquerors, we are in possession of authority, and liberty has against it the state of mind that has been produced in us by Greek decadence, and by pagan Rome, abominable in its violent authority, and by Catholic Rome, which has simply inherited from pagan Rome its ambition and its will to rule at any cost.

M. Dominique Delahaye.—What you say is contrary to historical truth.

M. Clemenceau.—My dear colleague, your words prove how much we are in need of liberty of education. You are not in possession of history; no more am I. When you take the floor, you will tell your historical truth; I tell mine as I can, very badly no doubt; but be good enough to admit that I make a very great effort, since I have the courage to separate from a certain number of my friends in order to seek, as a true republican should, justice and liberty outside of all party spirit. I always discern the old Roman spirit in the Roman church. The church has taken possession not only of the capital itself, but of the ideas that haunted its old walls. It has made them its own; if this were the place to develop the thought, I would demonstrate to you that the real heir of the conceptions of the Roman conquest is no other than the bishop of Rome who has made himself Cæsar and has taken up again the dream of universal domination.

Gentlemen, we are men of Latin mind. The pursuit of unity through God, through the king, through the State, haunts us; we do not accept diversity in liberty.

We escape the church only to fall into the arms of the State, of the University. If we are not crushed by the one, we must be crushed by the other.

The mistake of all teachers—and it is a very natural one—is to believe that they make men.

Gentlemen, in such a matter I am for the classic routine. I believe that here the father and mother still count for something. Every day we hear it said: "The child is a piece of soft wax; we shape it as we will." No; heredity and environment have determined these little men that are sent to you; you teach them to learn. Do you really believe that a child on the school benches always bears a necessary relation, determined by his teacher, to the man that he is to be?

M. Lintilhac.—My position is that superior minds resist this malleability.

M. Clemenceau.—I am glad of it. You content yourself, then, with determining the inferior minds. I am more ambitious. Yes, you wish to assist the average, the mediocre. With these you aim to constitute an average type, to make a republic of good pupils, a republic of good functionaries who will march in the direction in which you have started them. For my part, I am like Diogenes, but more ambitious; I seek men, and I say that by your own confession you cannot make them. Ah! you will help to make them! I do not mean to protest against the influence of education; quite the contrary, I look upon it as infinitely precious, and no one is readier than I to do it homage. But the young who come to you arrive with determined ideas acquired daily in their families. Your brotherhood of teachers is powerless. I have said that you could not close the great school of the church; no more can you close the great school of the family. You do not prevent the evening teaching by the fireside; you do not prevent the father from dropping into the mind of the child, who asks nothing better than to trust those who love him, a true or false word that will undo all your efforts of the day.

Gentlemen, as I have said before, all the liberties go together. You have established liberty of the press and liberty of assembly; I am sure you will establish liberty of conscience; then have the courage also to establish liberty of education. When you have begun the work of liberty, it is not in your power to stop. To establish liberty is not simply to erect statues to it or give its name to public squares and streets. It must be made a living reality, for it alone can win minds and keep them. Seeking to explain how the church monopoly and the State monopoly together produced the two generations that clashed in the bloody tragedy of the Revolution, you have said to us: "There was Condorcet, there was Voltaire, there was Diderot." But do they exist no longer? Neither Voltaire or Condorcet or Diderot have ceased to act, I suppose; their books were forbidden and burned; today they are everywhere, and with them their sons,—their authentic representatives among us. In this assembly we have a man whom we may look upon as one of their worthy successors; I mean Berthelot. Well, Berthelot has declared himself on this question; a few days ago, in a public meeting, he spoke as those great ancestors would have spoken; he said the word expected of them. Listen: "Nevertheless, gentlemen, our tradition—let us never forget it—is that of free thought. In our enthusiasm for science and reason we must always maintain this fundamental principle that we are to convince men while counting solely on their voluntary assent, without persecuting anybody, without ever pretending to infallibility, without claiming to possess and without trying to impose in the name of reason a monopoly of immutable dogmas."

Well, gentlemen, I am with Berthelot. Who answers him? Where are the authorized counsellors of monopoly? You throw yourselves blindly into a struggle in which your defeat is inevitable. You pretend to oppose sons to fathers. Can you think that the fathers will not rebel? Can you think that the fathers whom you oblige to send their children to a school whose teaching they disapprove will not start a revolt by the fireside against this teaching? Ah! they will not be alone. The church will come to the aid of the rebellious father, and the father and the church will make a joint effort on the child. And this conversion which liberty would have given you, you will render impossible.

For my part, I would enter the home with liberty, doors and windows wide open, and would say to the father: "Here is the history of the church,—a history of massacres, of burnings, of blood, of dragoonades, of persecutions, of tyrannies. And here now is the republic, born of liberty. All words can reach you and your child." For I wish to gain the father with the child. And, when I shall have shown him the power of this *régime* of liberty and its superiority over the *régime* of coercion, the father will be won over to the *régime* of free examination. And, when he shall have been won over to free criticism, he will be mine. He will be a new soldier of liberty and a new soldier of the republic. And I shall have made peace where you organize war.

If you wish to know what this *régime* can produce, witness the astonishing flowering of schools in the United States. Oh! I know; you will make a people of automata employing mechanically the gestures of democracy. But meantime the peoples among whom initiative is in honor will take possession of the world.....

Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for having spoken so long. In good faith I have tried to follow the path of reason and the republican idea through the uncertainties and confusion of the discussion in which we are engaged. I do not know if I have succeeded; my ambition is simply to make you understand my point of view. I hear many of my friends say to me: "You are an absolute mind." One is always the absolute mind of somebody. The speech which I have just made I certainly would not have made at the beginning of my parliamentary career. I have looked about me, I have learned, I have tried to profit by the lessons that have come to me from every side. I will not say that I have remained as firm a republican as in the past; but in one respect I have not changed,—it is impossible to conceive of a man more detached from Rome than I am. I have reached the point where I do not even feel the need of insulting it.

I believe that the problem is to secularize my country, to disengage it from the old Roman theocracy. I understand that I can do it only to the extent that I am capable of obtaining the assent of the majority of my fellow-citizens, and I seek to do it in a form that does not offend them. The separation of church and State, which I never expected to see and which I now hope to see realized in my lifetime, I would effect under such conditions of liberalism that no Frenchman who might want to go to mass would find it impossible to do so.....

Gentlemen, the world is given over to force, to conflicts, to struggles of interests; but under these savage struggles of more or less furious appetites, in the depths of the masses, an idea has arisen which moves men and pushes them on to the achievement of a better society; it is the idea of human right, the idea of the right of man, of man grown into a king, into a sovereign whose sovereignty knows no other limits than the sovereignty of others. It is this idea which has changed the society of the olden time into the society of today; in it lies the force of the future; it is our palladium, the idea that we must never desert, whatever happens. We have been conquerors because we had it with us; it has been invoked against us, but, as it was only a disguise for privilege, power has remained with us.

More than a hundred years ago our fathers made a revolution of right in the world. To continue their work we can only maintain and develop the notion of right which they have left us. And how develop right if not by the development of man which is its substance? That is why the watchword of this modern civilization which the Revolution founded and which the Syllabus curses can be, through all the uncertainties of a long battle, nothing but the liberation, growth, and development of man.

Spencer Declared an Anarchist.

[Springfield Republican.]

In political principle Spencer was an individualist of the radical sort,—in fact, an Anarchist. He desired to see the interference of government reduced to its lowest terms. Practically he desired to see the hands of government lifted from education. In this he was himself one of those elements which he himself characterizes as conflicting with the universal plan, at least for the time of their action, but which will be found in the ultimate as contributive to its working out in a more perfect way the evolution of ideal society. When the ethical end of this great comprehension of forces shall have developed, the inescapable result is the entire recognition of each individual right on an equal plane with every other indivdual right, or Anarchy,—that is, society without what is now known as government, the basis of which is limitation, whereas the end of evolved society is liberation. And a liberator is what Spencer has been. He has opened to the thought of the world, through the gateway of science, the free road to the finest dreams and loftiest longings of the human soul.

Have We Forgotten?

[New York Daily News.]

There is something wrong with the American people—Americans of the older stock. They are no longer quick to perceive and keen to resent invasions of the rights for which their forefathers fought.

One of the speakers at the Cooper Union meeting on Thursday night said he feared that Americans have forgotten what liberty means. He called attention to the significant absence from the meeting of the clergy, leading merchants, judges, the mayor, the patriotic sons and daughters of this, that, and t'other,—the representatives of that element of society which calls itself "better" and claims a monopoly of virtue and patriotism,—and he charged them with being recreant to the faith of their fathers.

The indictment was severe, but it was a true bill. Except a few earnest men and women on the platform, there was hardly a sprinkling of old-fashioned Americans in the hall. As one of the morning papers said, with half a sneer, the audience "was recruited mainly from the lower East Side." Perhaps that is why most of them deemed it safe to report the meeting falsely and to assert in stupid headlines that it was a demonstration in defence, favor, and support of Anarchists and Anarchy.

It was such a meeting as might have been held in New York more than a century ago to protest against the alien and sedition laws, or in Boston before that to denounce the tyranny of an English king. It was called in defence of the fundamental rights of the American citizen, the rights of free thought, free speech, and public trial by judge and jury under the forms and safeguards of the common law.

It was a meeting called to protest against and demand the repeal of a law so invasive of those American rights as to wring from the indignant John De Witt Warner this startling challenge to authority: "We will resist to the death our government, or any other government, that attempts to penalize free thought and free speech by enforcing such a law as this."

The meeting was not attended by the people who go to the opera and the Horse Show, nor even by those who make up the audiences at municipal "reform" *soirées* and political pink teas. It was reported inadequately by most papers, stupidly by several, falsely and malignantly by one, and timidly by the biggest braggart of the lot. It was so treated by the press because the American press has reason to know that the American people have chloroformed their national conscience and do not care a rap for the ideas to which their forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

The audience was "recruited mainly from the lower East Side," and in that fact may be found hope for the future of the republic. It was an earnest, alert, intelligent audience, of much quicker, keener intelligence than could have been found that night in any other place of public gathering in all New York. It knew what ideas such names as Guizot, Reclus, Thoreau, Emerson, and Spencer stand for, and quickly appreciated the slightest allusions to them.

More than all, that audience knew the meaning of "administrative process," knew what dangers to the citizen lie in any curtailment of the right of free speech, and had a living, human grasp of those principles and ideals which have become mere academic platitudes to too many of us. It was an audience composed largely of persons of foreign birth or parentage, and it was more truly American in spirit

than any crowd which has been seen in Cooper Union for some time.

Curious, is it not? While Americans are prating solemnly of the evils of immigration and devising barriers to keep aliens out of the country, the immigrants are defending American principles, keeping alive the American ideal, and jealously guarding American rights from invasion by the perverted machinery of American government.

To the man or woman of Europe who comes to America as to the home of freedom, the land of equal opportunity, the word "liberty" is full of vital meaning and the Declaration of Independence is not an obsolete farrago of fine phrases. It is the victim of oppressive government who knows best what John Hay meant when he wrote, long ago, it is true: "For always in thine eyes, O Liberty, shines that high light whereby the world is saved, and, though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."

Americans have forgotten what tyranny is, and they do not realize that any rights are being taken from them. They are too busy just now to take thought of such a trifle as freedom of speech, conscious, perhaps, of being able to recover anything of which they may be robbed whenever they find it convenient or necessary to do so; but it is well that the "lower East Side" does not forget so readily.

The Truth about the Venal "Times."

[Truth Seeker.]

The "Times" stands for all the opposition to the liberation of Mr. Turner. It does not know, and it does not want to know, the truth, and it would not tell it if it did. It is the advocate of tyranny because it pays. If John Turner could buy its advertising columns for six months, the "Times" would find abundant reasons why he should be set free.

The Right to Free Thought.

[Springfield Republican.]

The "Independent" is not prone to uphold unpopular causes, and, on that account, its condemnation of the deportation of John Turner, the English labor organizer, because he "disbelieves in government" is the more interesting and significant. Most journals, daily and weekly, are afraid to discuss the Turner case, lest they get daubed somehow with red anarchy. As Turner is acknowledged to be an academic Anarchist, that fact alone seems to condemn him in many minds. It is surprising, however, to find so enlightened a man as Bishop Potter sympathizing with the exclusion of men from this country because they hold opinions that he does not like.

If Mr. Turner can be justly excluded, by the same law the government might have deported the late Herbert Spencer, the celebrated English philosopher. For Spencer was also one who, in a philosophical sence, "disbelieved in government." He was an intense individualist, and doubtless regarded theoretical Anarchy as the final ideal state, to which the cosmic process of revolution is slowly taking us. He was, of course, no revolutionist; but neither is John Turner, so far as any one can prove. Turner in England has been allowed perfect freedom to express his views; it was not until he came to America that he was found to be too dangerous to have at large.

It has been urged in some quarters, since the case of Turner began to attract attention, that, if his teachings on government do not involve the use of violence and assassination, they may have bad effects upon weaker minds, and ultimately lead to regrettable episodes. This is inhibiting opinions because of their possible ulterior effects when passing through unknown and possibly unsafe mediums. Need it be pointed out that reasoning of this sort has in all ages been used to justify the shackling of thought? Russian autocracy to-day fetters the Russian intellect and destroys the liberty of speech and of the press, in order that doctrines dangerous to government as it exists in Russia may not be overthrown. What has the experience of a thousand years proved to enlightened, self-governing people, if it has not shown that the human mind should be as free as the air in its processes? Restrictive laws never propagated truth, nor struck down error.

The Turner case involves a very simple issue. Are aliens who happen to "disbelieve in government," and who are guilty of nothing save an opinion, to be outlawed when they reach the shores of this republic? If so, then the United States has begun a reactionary warfare upon freedom of thought, which was supposed to be more secure in America than in any other part of the world.

THE WHIM

AN ARTISTIC MONTHLY MAGAZINELET

Edited by . . { ERNEST CROSBY and BENEDICT PRIETH

THE WHIM is an independent, anti-military, anti-governmental journal, claiming relationship to Thoreau and Tolstoy, but owning no master.

It hits various things from the shoulder.

Fifty Cents in stamps will bring it for a Year, or Ten Cents for Two Months on trial. But perhaps the best way is to enclose a Dollar Bill for a Two Years' subscription.

THE WHIM
P. O. Box 288
NEWARK, N. J.

A Chambermaid's Diary.

By OCTAVE MIRBEAU.

Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER.

A French chambermaid, who has served in the houses of the nobility, of professional people, and of the *bourgeoisie*, secures a position in a country-house, and there begins the keeping of her diary. In describing her daily experiences and the people about her, she is often reminded of episodes in her past, and thus, by frequent digressions, reviews her entire career. She mercilessly tears away the veils that conceal all sorts of crimes, foibles, prejudices, and fads in the various strata of society, so that her recital becomes a terrific social exposure, a grim social satire, crammed with humor, bitterness, and truth.

The author describes his book as filled with "the sadness that makes lofty souls laugh, the comicality that makes them weep."

A French critic declares that "the purpose of the work seems to be to show that nearly all the masters are low-lived wretches, and that nearly all the servants are as near like them as they know how to be."

The French original, published in August, 1900, has already reached its 130th edition.

A handsomely-printed volume of 460 pages.

Cl[illegible] 75; paper, 50 cents.

Mailed, post-[illegible] ceipt of price, by the Publisher:

BENJ. R. [illegible]ER, P. O. Box 1312, New York City.

LIBERTY'S LIBRARY.

For any of the following Works, address,
Benj. R. Tucker, Box 1312, New York.

GOD AND THE STATE. "One of the most eloquent pleas for liberty ever written. Paine's 'Age of Reason' and 'Rights of Man' consolidated and improved. It stirs the pulse like a trumpet call." By Michael Bakounine. Translated from the French by Benj. R. Tucker. 52 pages. Price, 15 cents.

FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS: Their Nature, Essence, and Maintenance. An abridgment and rearrangement of Lysander Spooner's "Trial by Jury." Edited by Victor Yarros. 47 pages. Price, 25 cents.

A POLITICIAN IN SIGHT OF HAVEN. Being a protest against government of man by man. By Auberon Herbert. Price, 10 cents.

SOCIALISTIC, COMMUNISTIC, MUTUALISTIC, and Financial Fragments. By William B. Greene. Price, $1.25.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LAWS of Congress Prohibiting Private Mails. By Lysander Spooner. 24 pages. Price, 10 cents.

A BLOW AT TRIAL BY JURY. By Benj. R. Tucker. An examination of the special jury law passed by the New York legislature in 1896. A speech delivered at a mass meeting held in Cooper Union under the auspices of several labor organizations. 48 pages. Price, 5 cents.

THE ATTITUDE OF ANARCHISM TOWARD INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.

BY

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

An address delivered in Central Music Hall, Chicago, on September 14, 1899, before the Conference on Trusts held under the auspices of the Civic Federation.

Price, Five Cents; 100 Copies, $3.00.

Mailed, post-paid, by the Publisher,

BENJ. R. TUCKER, P. O. Box 1312, New York City.

"Read the vital words of this woman."
—The Conservator.

WHITMAN'S IDEAL DEMOCRACY, AND OTHER WRITINGS.

BY

HELENA BORN.

These essays treat not alone of the poets of revolt, but discuss, from the Anarchist point of view, economic questions of the day, such as the ethics of strikes and labor unions, individualism and organization, marriage and sex problems.

"A radical individualist."—*Chicago Evening Post.*
"In these essays one comes in touch with a rare spirit."—*Boston Herald.*
"Fine examples of serious writing."—*The Socialist Spirit.*

A simple volume, beautifully printed.
Sq. 12mo, boards, $1.00.

Copies for sale by
HELEN TUFTS, 4 Park Street, Boston, Mass.

What is Anarchism?

An explanation by Stephen T. Byington. 5 copies for 2 cents, 50 for 10 cents, 150 for 25 cents, 750 for $1. Postage paid. Address S. T. Byington, 70 Otis St., East Cambridge, Mass.

LANGUAGES
Printing Company

114 FIFTH AV., NEW YORK
Telephone, 6188 18th Street

Quality
Quantity
Promptness
Speed

French
German
Spanish
Italian

Books
Magazines
Directories
Catalogs

Greek
Latin
Hebrew
Russian

Jobs from One Slug to Millions

Special Delivery throughout New York

Portuguese
Swedish
Hungarian
Polish

Translating
Editing
Plates
Presswork

LINOTYPE & HAND COMPOSITION

Scientific and Technical Works
Examination Papers
Grammars, Dictionaries

A NEW SYSTEM OF BOOKS

The Ideophonic Texts
for
Acquiring Languages

Edited by

ROBERT MORRIS PIERCE

The Ideophonic Texts are designed to furnish abundant material for forming those myriad associations of mental and organic processes which constitute the acquisition of languages. The *ideas* are presented by means of the native language of the student, and the *sounds* of the foreign language by means of the Universal Alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, as shown in the reduced facsimiles below.

German Texts for English Readers

SCHILLER'S WILHELM TELL Act 1. Four parallel texts, as shown in the following reduced facsimile of two facing pages. Editorial Critic: **George Hempl** Professor of English Philology and General Linguistics in the University of Michigan. 26 + 239 octavo pages. Cloth. $1.00 postpaid to any part of the world.

SCHILLER'S WILHELM TELL Act 2. Same arrangement as that of Act 1. Editorial Critic: **George Hempl.** Cloth. $1.00. *(Partly prepared.)*

French Texts for English Readers

LUDOVIC HALÉVY'S L'ABBÉ CONSTANTIN Part 1. Four parallel texts, similar in arrangement to those shown above. Editorial Critic: **Paul Passy** Editor of "Le Maître Phonétique." Cloth. $1.00. *(Preparation arranged for.)*

Greek Texts for English Readers

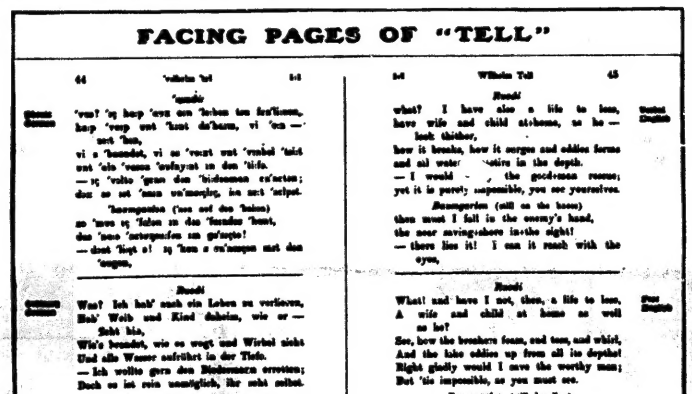
XENOPHON'S ANABASIS Book 1. Four parallel texts, similar in arrangement to those mentioned above. In the phonic text the attempt is made to represent the actual Athenian pronunciation of the time of Xenophon. Consulting Editor: **George Hempl.** Cloth. $1.00. *(Partly prepared.)*

The issuance of the three volumes last mentioned will depend somewhat on the number of the advance orders received for them. Other Series are contemplated, as of Anglo-Saxon, Chinese, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Russian, Sanskrit, and Spanish Texts for English Readers; as well as Series for other than English readers, as French Texts for German Readers and English Texts for French Readers.

John Locke:
"And to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself if he please with the English Translation. Nor let the Objection that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well consider'd, is not of any Moment against, but plainly for this Way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learned by rote."

Edmond Demolins:
"In short, the only practical and rapid way of learning a language is to store in the memory as many words and phrases as possible. By the time a pupil has read and understood — which is easy with a translation — twelve or fifteen volumes of Latin, he knows Latin."

FACING PAGES OF "TELL"



The Study of Modern Languages in Boston, Mass.

(From *Le Maître Phonétique* for March, 1901)

The publication of the Ideophonic Texts for Acquiring Languages . . . shows a zeal at once rare and determined in the teaching of languages by the phonetic method. On the two facing pages appear four parallel texts of the subject-matter: a phonic foreign text, an ordinary foreign text, a word-for-word rendering of the text, and a free rendering of the text. The sounds of any language are taught by means of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Students of phonetic systems are to be congratulated that the editor has not followed the usual custom of inventing a new system which they have to practice on before really starting in.

October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in curves* ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j(c)	g(k) q(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(ɱ)	n(ŋ)	ɲ(ɲ)	ŋ(ɢ)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(ɭ)	ʎ(ʟ)	l(ʟ)		
Trilled		r(ɾ)			ʀ(ʀ)	ʜ
So close as to produce friction	v(ʋ) v(ʋ)	z(ʐ) ʒ(ʑ) ð(θ) ʒ(ʃ)		w(ɰ)		ɦ(ɧ) (h)
	Rounded		ɰ(ʝ)	w(ɯ)		
			ɥ(ç)	ʁ(χ)		
Very close	Rounded		y ø u			
			ʏ ɪ ʊ			
Close	Rounded		ʏ ʊ			
			ɪ ʊ			
Half close	Rounded		ø ɵ o			
			e ə ɤ			
Half open	Rounded		ɛ ɜ ɔ			
			æ ɐ ʌ			
Open			æ ɑ			
Very open			a ɑ			

! denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*
' denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively *loud*.
~ denotes that the sound under it is *nasal*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[denotes that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
[denotes that the pitch of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
> denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *rises*.
< denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds *falls*.

Henry Sweet:
"Phonetics is almost as old as civilization itself . . . It is the unphonetic, not the phonetic methods that are an innovation."

Paul Passy:
"I was disagreeably surprised to observe that in American schools, as almost everywhere in France, they make use, from the very start, of the German characters, so embarrassing to beginners, and which there is every advantage in not taking up till later on."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler.
"Words are not words without context, motive, and life."

For WHAT
Remarkable

For Its Fundamental Principle
that languages are to be learned quite as much by Practice as by Theory: that *ideas* and *sounds*, to become sufficiently *associated* in the mind, must actually be *present* in the mind — in the right combinations — *over*, and *over*, and *over again*.

For Its System of Phonic Notation,
the Universal Alphabet of "*Le Maître Phonétique*," a journal circulated in 35 different countries. This alphabet has already been applied to about 200 languages and dialects, and bids fair to come into world-wide popular use. *After one language has been learned by it, other languages are much easier to learn.*

For Its Four Parallel Texts
always in sight, three of them corresponding, *line for line*, and *word for word:* thus securing *perfect ease of reference*. Each text is, however, *distinct* from the others: thus enabling the student to pin his attention exclusively and continuously on any one of them he may choose.

For Its Phonic German Text
giving the *exact pronunciation and stress* of each word as spoken *in the particular context in which it occurs*. Pronunciations as commonly given in text-books, grammars and dictionaries, are not only few in number and inexact, but arbitrary: *fitted to no particular context*.

For Its Ordinary German Text
corresponding *line for line* and *word for word* with the phonic German text, and printed in large, clear roman type.

For Its Verbal English Text,
a word-for-word rendering, corresponding *line for line* with the ordinary German and phonic German texts: enabling the student or instructor to find at a glance *the literal meaning of each word in the particular context in which it occurs*.

For Its Free English Text
giving *the general idea and spirit* of the German, and often a literal rendering of the lines.

For WHOM
Designed

For All Students of German,
whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously helped and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect*.

For All Teachers of German
(*whether teaching "Tell" or not*) who know that German can be acquired only by covering an *enormous amount of ground;* and who know, therefore, that their duty is to furnish their pupils with the most refined and powerful instruments for self-instruction which can be obtained. If not adopted as a regular text-book, this volume may be used as a *supplementary* text.

For All Students whose Pronunciation is Bad:
and the pronunciation of English-speaking students *is apt to be very bad*.

For All Teachers who are Uncertain as to Pronunciation
or rendering, or who have a local or imperfect pronunciation, and *who want standard guides*, such as the phonic text and the word-for-word rendering *for their own use* at home or in the class.

For All Students who Read Aloud:
and should students not read aloud more or less: in class and out?

For All Teachers of German Phonology
who now confine their teaching to mere elementary theory, for lack of *accurate and practical texts* on which to set students to work finding things out for themselves.

For All Students of General Phonetics and Philology,
who are interested in the structure of the German language.

HINDS & NOBLE, Publishers
31-33-35 West Fifteenth Street, New York, U.S.A.